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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

MBFR-04 SAJ-01 AEC-11 SS-15 NSC-10 DRC-01 /121 W

----- 096836

R 281750Z SEP 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1827

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

S E C R E T USNATO 4596

E.O. 11652: GDS-12/31/81

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: NPG-SUB-GROUP STUDY ON WARSAW PACT STRATEGY AND DOCTRINE

BEGIN SUMMARY: SECOND MEETING OF NPG SUB-GROUP ON WARSAW PACT STRATEGY AND DOCTRINE WAS HELD AT NATO HEADQUARTERS ON 25-26 SEPTEMBER. STUDY GROUP AGREED ON GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF STUDY AND HAD WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSION OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF SUBJECT THAT SHOULD BE ADDRESSED. PRINCIPAL FOCUS OF DISCUSSION WAS INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS CONTAINED IN MC 161/73 AND EXTENT TO WHICH STUDY CAN GO BEYOND THESE ASSESSMENTS. NETHERLANDS AGREED TO WRITE INITIAL DRAFTS OF STUDY IN PREPARATION FOR THIRD MEETING OF SUB-GROUP SCHEDULED FOR 27-28 NOVEMBER. END SUMMARY.

1. SECOND MEETING OF NPG SUB-GROUP CONVENED TO STUDY WARSAW PACT POLITICAL MILITARY STRATEGY AND DOCTRINE WAS HELD AT NATO HEADQUARTERS ON 25-26 SEPTEMBER. NATIONS REPRESENTED, IN ADDITION TO U.S., WERE NETHERLANDS (CHAIRMAN, BGEN ROS, RNLA), DENMARK, FRG, CANADA, AND UK. ALL NATIONAL DELEGATIONS INCLUDED REPRESENTATION FROM CAPITALS, INCLUDING INTELLIGENCE SPECIALISTS.

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2. TWO DAY MEETING CONSISTED PRIMARILY OF A WIDE-RANGING BRAIN-STORMING SESSION INTENDED TO PROVIDE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION WITH DATA AND VIEWS TO USE IN PREPARATION OF A FIRST DRAFT OF STUDY. THE STUDY GROUP, DRAWING ON A

DRAFT OUTLINE PREPARED BY NETHERLANDS, AGREED IN GENERAL TERMS ON THE CONTENT TO INCLUDE IN EACH SECTION OF THE STUDY. PART I (INTRODUCTION) WILL GIVE BACKGROUND, AIMS AND SCOPE OF STUDY, GENERAL ASSUMPTIONS, AND TERMINOLOGY. PART II WILL BE A SUMMARY OF CURRENT AGREED NATO INTELLIGENCE BASED ON ASSESSMENTS IN MC 161. IT WILL INCLUDE A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE SOURCES (OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS, EXERCISES, ETC.) UPON WHICH NATO INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES ARE BASED AND LIMITATIONS THESE MAY IMPOSE ON OUR KNOWLEDGE OF WP STRATEGY AND DOCTRINE. PART III, WHICH WILL BE THE HEART OF STUDY, WILL GO BEYOND MC 161 AND DISCUSS IN GENERAL TERMS VARIOUS CONSIDERATIONS WHICH MAY INFLUENCE WP STRATEGY AND DOCTRINE, AND ACTIONS WP MAY TAKE IN ACTUAL WAR SITUATION. THE STUDY GROUP RECOGNIZED THAT THIS SECTION WILL BE SPECULATIVE IN NATURE IN LIGHT OF GAPS IN OUR KNOWLEDGE AND UNCERTAINTY INHERENT IN SUBJECT. NONETHELESS, IT AGREED THAT DISCUSSION OF THIS KIND IS WHAT WOULD BE OF PRINCIPAL INTEREST TO NPG MINISTERS.

3. BULK OF STUDY GROUP DISCUSSION CENTERED AROUND ASSESSMENT ON P. 51 OF MC 161/73 (PART I, SECTION 4, PARA. 16). UK REP NOTED THAT THIS ASSESSMENT, TAKEN LITERALLY, WOULD RENDER NATO TACTICAL NUCLEAR POLICY DEVELOPED BY NPG OVER NUMBER OF YEARS LARGELY IRRELEVANT. GENERAL TENOR OF STUDY GROUP DISCUSSION WAS IN DIRECTION OF QUESTIONING THIS ASSESSMENT, INCLUDING INTERPRETATION OF TERM "WIDE-SCALE". INTELLIGENCE REPS POINTED OUT THAT THIS ASSESSMENT IS BASED ON AVAILABLE EVIDENCE. THEY ACKNOWLEDGED APPROPRIATENESS OF STUDY GROUP TO RANGE BEYOND MC 161, BUT STRESSED THAT IT MUST BE CLEAR IN STUDY THAT SUCH SPECULATION IS NOT BASED ON KNOWN EVIDENCE. INTELLIGENCE REPS ALSO STRESSED THAT THE VARIOUS CAVEATS AND EXPLANATIONS CONTAINED IN MC 161 SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. NETHERLANDS REP RAISED QUESTION OF WHETHER WP ADHERES TO CONCEPT OF "THEATER NUCLEAR WAR" IN MANNER SIMILAR TO USE OF THIS TERM IN VARIOUS U.S. POSTURE STATEMENTS WHICH, IN
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HIS VIEW, CLEARLY IMPLIED THE DECOUPLING OF THE U.S. STRATEGIC DETERRENT FROM THE DEFENSE OF NATO. THIS COMMENT PROMPTED SHARP REJOINDERS FROM UK AND FRG REPS WHO OPPOSED ANY SUCH DISCUSSION IN THE STUDY AND DISAVOWED THIS INTERPRETATION OF U.S. POLICY. U.S. REP (WOODWORTH) SAID THAT USE OF TERM IN NO WAY IMPLIED DECOUPLING AND SIMPLY REFERRED TO ANY USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE THEATER, AS CLEARLY PROVIDED FOR IN NATO STRATEGY AND DOCTRINE.

4. OTHER ASPECTS DISCUSSED BY STUDY GROUP FOR POSSIBLE INCLUSION IN PART III OF STUDY INCLUDED QUESTION OF SOVIET FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; SOVIET USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AT SEA; POSSIBLE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN "POLITICAL" AND "MILITARY" USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; POLITICAL CONTROL OF THE

USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CONTRASTING ASSUMPTIONS IN NATO AND WP PLANNING REGARDING THE INITIATION OF AGGRESSION AND THE TERRITORY ON WHICH A WAR WOULD BE FOUGHT. IS REP NOTED THAT STUDY SHOULD CITE FACT THAT, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, SOVIET NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE NOT STORED IN EASTERN EUROPE.

5. NETHERLANDS REP AGREED TO UNDERTAKE TASK OF PREPARING FIRST DRAFT OF STUDY. THIS DRAFT WILL BE CIRCULATED ABOUT 25 OCTOBER FOR REVIEW IN CAPITALS. HE REQUESTED THAT PARTICIPANTS PROVIDE NATIONAL COMMENTS ON THIS DRAFT TO NETHERLANDS BY MID-NOVEMBER. THEY WILL THEN PREPARE A REVISED DRAFT WHICH WILL BE CIRCULATED PRIOR TO THE THIRD MEETING OF THE SUB-GROUP, NOW SCHEDULED FOR 27-28 NOVEMBER. LOCATION WAS NOT DECIDED, BUT WE ANTICIPATE THE MEETING WILL BE HELD AT NATO HEADQUARTERS.

6. MISSION BELIEVES IT IS IMPORTANT FOR U.S. TO FOLLOW THIS STUDY CLOSELY BECAUSE OF POTENTIALLY SENSITIVE ISSUES IT RAISES AND RELATION TO INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES, PARTICULARLY MC 161. WE APPRECIATE ATTENDANCE OF LT. COL. FIELDER (DIA) AT MEETING, AND STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT AN INTELLIGENCE EXPERT ATTEND 27-28 NOVEMBER MEETING.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 02 APR 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 28 SEP 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NATO04596
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS-12/31/81
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730962/abqcechm.tel
Line Count: 135
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21-Aug-2001 by elyme>; APPROVED <24-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NPG-SUB-GROUP STUDY ON WARSAW PACT STRATEGY AND DOCTRINE
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
To: STATE
SECDEF INFO USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN
USNMR SHAPE
USLOSACLANT
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005